2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional history of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x			
Corn and Fertility	x			
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x			
Snow Owl	x			
Robe bundles	x			
Shell Robe	x		x	
Knife clan bundle			x	
Water-buster clan bundle			x	
Earth-naming		x		x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)		x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo		x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x		x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf		x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*		x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River		x	x	x
Creek	x		x	
Earth-lodge-making	x		x	
Sacred Pot	x			x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

30. Bowers, *op. cit.*

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them.

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods.

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens.

As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

778 428 POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

787 869 785 All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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came to him and promised him many things, taught him medicine songs and told him how to make a bundle.

He came back to the village where there were just a few Mandan living. The Ree were living in the village too and were mistreating the Mandan, but when they heard he was a holy man, they gave him robes and blankets to keep him from doing them harm.

When my father was grown, my grandfather said, "I am going to fix you up with the gods I have and teach you everything the bear, porcupine, and otter taught me. I will give you the songs, but you will have to pay me for them. I will teach you all the things I have been taught in my dreams."

He made a hole through two bullets; one he tied around my father's neck and the other round the wrist. He made a shield and painted a picture of a bear, porcupine, and otter on it, but the bear had two heads. He tied a soft eagle feather to the shield.

"If they shoot this little feather, they will kill you. Otherwise they can't kill you or hurt you in battle,"[15] he said.

He told my father, Moves Slowly, how to fix up the medicine for battle. Twice my father struck an enemy. This power was given him to be lucky, and his exploits brought him a high place in the tribe.

He once said to my father, "If the spirits agree, I will know it." He taught my father's sister the songs.[16] One time he asked the women to bring much firewood into the earth lodge and get out his three drums because he was going to bring all the gods in that night. He stood a long pole with a rattle tied on the end up through the smokehole. There was another rattle near the kettle beside the fireplace. There was a small sweat lodge in one corner of the earth lodge. Many people came in to look on. Two men tied him up hand and foot and put him in the sweat lodge. He was to bring in the spirits while the girl sang his medicine songs. The people were told that the spirits would hit them if they were not quiet. Soon the rattles began to shake, and the spirits came down and untied him and tied the lariat up in a knot. Then he ordered the fire built up, and everything was bright again.

He was able to name the person stealing things and locate lost storage pits. The spirits on the mountains showed him how to detect thieves or find things. One time some friends made a robe, but before it was finished someone stole it. They called my father in to sing his medicine songs. While he was singing, a dog barked out in the village and two men going by told him they passed a man wearing a robe that had not been trimmed around the edge. It was a Ree who had stolen it.

Another time he had just finished ten arrows. He had given a horse for the heads on the arrows and was proud of them. He missed them so that night he sang the medicine songs and asked the gods to help him find them. When he finished, he just wandered aimlessly through the village and went into a lodge, not knowing why he did. He told about his arrows and one of the men in the lodge said there was a young man sleeping there who had nice ones. They were the arrows he lost. So my father believed the promise made by his father that "the spirits would send powers" was true.

15. The feather represented the source of his power, and the only way to harm him was by breaking or destroying his connection with the supernatural.

16. This form of inheritance from parents to children was characteristic of personal bundles which should not be confused with tribal bundles which were theoretically clan owned.

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numak-naxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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tadi band of Mandan. Immediately after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, both bundles were kept at Nuptadi but had different owners. Crows Belt owned the Robe bundle and Red Bird owned the Skull bundle. A year after the smallpox epidemic, Red Bird lost a son from smallpox and contemplated putting the bundle away on the hills, the customary method of relinquishing an unsold bundle, when his son-in-law, Bear Looks Around, an Awaxawi, indicated a desire to purchase the bundle.[2]

The Mandan who owned rights in all the Corn ceremonies met and approved the transfer, since at that time there was considerable intertribal marriage and the principal Mandan Corn bundle containing Good Furred Robe's robe was not involved in the sale. Bear Looks Around bought the bundle, which he later transferred to his "younger brother" (sister's son), Poor Wolf, who transferred it to Mrs. White Duck, his daughter, the present owner.

The Robe bundle was transferred from Crows Belt to Moves Slowly, last head of the Corn ceremonies at Like-a-Fishhook Village. Having no "younger brother," and since no male of his clan indicated a desire to purchase the bundle, he sold his rights to his daughter, Scattercorn.[3] She lost the robe and most of the bundle when their earth lodge burned but saved the pipe. She replaced part of the bundle but not the robe.

A second group of somewhat more complicated Corn ceremonies was associated with Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles. Four groups of bundles belonged to these rites. They were:

1. *Principal bundles.*—These consisted of a large number of articles symbolic of characters and objects referred to in the Old Woman Who Never Dies myth. There was no full bundle in existence at the time of this study. Information was supplied largely by Scattercorn and supplemented by isolated bits of information from a number of informants whose families owned secondary bundles associated with the principal bundles and containing varying numbers of articles similar to those in the principal bundles. From this scattered information, the inform-

2. Father-in-law to son-in-law or older brother to younger brother constitute moiety inheritance when moieties are exogamous.

3. Scattercorn died in 1940. Her rights in the Corn ceremony were transferred to Mrs. Little Owl, a clan daughter.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast.

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned.

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles.

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants.

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man, who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the WaxikEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was selected. The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

Although villages were reported to be largely independent ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo.

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century.

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died.

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter barbed and loosely attached.

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments.

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons.

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was used by the Arikara and Hidatsa.

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.